759 In these 2 qualifications of skill and success, some of the explicitly non-professional old ladies were recognized as easily matching the professionals. What then was the definition of a professional midwife?

759 789 What the professional midwives alone did was to deliver non-kin, for which they had to have magical formulas and reliable celestial knowledge. The incantations gave a midwife the right to be called a mɔ̄ tamyaa, for he or she was using to a greater or lesser extent the sacred wisdom of occultism (saiyasāt). Here midwifery was like any other craft or endeavor. One could cure, sing, and build a boat without magic, but with it, the chances of success and effectiveness were increased. The incantations could "ease delivery," "get a baby out that had died inside"(for this baby could no longer do his part), "prevent the poison of the fire from burning the mother," and give other special help. That this magic was the crucial difference between the professional and non-professional was illustrated by the old lady who had delivered 30 babies, but vehemently[67] denied being a midwife. "I am not a professional. I have no magic. I only pray to the Lord Buddha and think of sacred things each time."

759 787 A professional also had more detailed astrological knowledge of the orientations of relevant celestial beings so that delivery would be "helped and not obstructed." This knowledge was in no way a professional secret, but if complications during childbirth were evident, it was necessary to have accuracy, and convenient that the midwife had it.

759 562 • 212 191 778 To certain villagers the designation "professional" could not be applied to women because, never having been ordained, they had not learned to read, as men supposedly had, not only Thai but Pali and Cambodian, the languages of medical and magical lore. "A professional midwife has a book. No woman can become professional because she cannot read." The idea was that incantations were correct only if taken from the sacred texts at the temple, though in fact the formulas were taught orally. One male midwife had a sacred book in his private possession, which was proper, for sacred books were inherited by males.

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67. Her vehemence may reflect either pride in being so successful without magic--a true liang di--fear of being reported as unlicensed (see below, p. 145); or consternation lest she be accused of using magic to which she was not entitled.

759 [465] Although as to fees, they said, "It is as you please," these women received as a rule the higher honoraria of 10, 20, and 30 baht. They did not have a separate teacher-rite but paid their respects during regular temple events, such as offering a pig's head and the other items during someone's ordination, though the Muslim midwife had her modified teacher-rite in a separate home ceremony, not at the mosque (cf. Appendix:Muslim Customs). It was even said of the best female midwife that "she had a book." She was literate in Thai. Even if her book were a popular astrological guide, it carried the reverance accorded all books. Whatever it was, its possession increased her aura of reliability. [212] [214] [789] Though the women did not receive their magic at the temple but rather from a kinsman in the maternal line, their incantations, which appeared to be in the Pali-Thai tradition, were no less effective.

759 The professional midwives, both men and women, saw themselves as individual custodians of sacred knowledge and competent in a technique. They were not only interested and ready, but obligated to give expert care to anyone, anywhere it was needed.

The non-professional midwives always thought of themselves as voluntary helpers of kinsmen, acting "out of pity" and carrying on their female responsibility for new life as older women helping their younger relatives. [562] The idea of giving nurture and assistance was so deeply ingrained in the female office that the professional midwives saw themselves fundamentally as volunteers.

Learning Midwifery

The decision to deliver a daughter or a wife was not momentous. One did not have to be "guk" to deliver a baby. The same practical and compassionate motives that led a mother or husband to do this led some of these people to seek out professional techniques so that they might "help more." One woman, bearing her own child at 25 with intense suffering, became angry (khap thai) because "the midwife did nothing to help, but just sat and chewed betel while others did all the work." In desperation she called in her own mother to deliver her. She also "felt she had many relatives who would need her help." Another was asked by her mother's brother, a midwife, to accompany him as he was getting too old. He then gave her his magic. A man took up the specialty after his first child, a son, died at birth from ineptness, he thought, of the midwife. Another man, though, took it up as a "minor extra" to his career as a [illegible]. All learned the skill by accompanying and helping an

000improvement, (1)ngaan sponsored by them might serve to acquaint a large group with a new practice. Suppose, for example, that addition of premix to rice, and cooking rice without excess water were being promoted. If one of the respected priest-practitioners could be persuaded to introduce these practices at his homage-to-the-teacher rite and give them some publicity, this might help to create a favorable attitude toward the suggested change.

Every change will require continuing education, and a variety of approaches should be used, some of which have been [871]mentioned. If the elementary school teachers were persuaded of the importance of a good diet and improvement in sanitation, and had a sound understanding of the desired changes in practice, they could influence both the oncoming generation, and their neighbors through teaching and example. Continued practical health education for school children should ultimately bear fruit. The value of eating more green leafy vegetables should be taught, and the children could learn about leafy greens available in the village, but not widely used at present. Good foods to bring to school for lunch might be stressed. Hard cooked eggs have already been mentioned. If convenience as well as health value were stressed, this might lead in time to increased consumption of eggs by growing children, and ultimately by adults as well. If a simple school lunch program were organized, either on a cooperative basis or subsidized, the inclusion of peanuts would help to increase both the protein and the thiamine content of the children's diets. Though unfamiliar to many of the children, lightly roasted peanuts were enjoyed as a treat offered at the end of the medical inspection. If teachers could influence vendors to prepare and sell more of the snacks which would be desirable additions to the children's food, this would be a gain. Fruit could be stressed for school lunch. At any time of year, a banana a day for each child would probably be possible, and bananas should be emphasized even though their nutritive value is not so outstanding as that of many other fruits. Values of other fruit in season should be taught. The school garden could be used to demonstrate how to grow some of the more nutritious vegetables. Awards for those with the best home gardens could be used to stimulate improvement. Similarly, recognition for improvement in home sanitation might be useful.

In adult discussion groups, both men and women should learn about good food and health practices. The slack period between transplanting and harvest, when people can get about easily by boat, would be the best time for such meet- [872]ings. Since many adults in Bang Chan were illiterate or did not read with ease, very simple teaching material is needed. Association between good food and health must be built up gradually. Appeal to economic and other motives may be used [873]where such motives reinforce the desired ends. The extension method of adult education, just in its beginnings in Thailand,

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

continually brings to the attention of the villagers urban standards and aspirations which, whenever possible, they attempt to apply to themselves. L. M. Hanks (1959*b*: 19) sees the operation of this characteristic acculturative mechanism in Bang Chan in terms of the villagers' "search for respectability": "A respectable cremation requires an orchestra; a respectable dwelling a tile roof; a respectable sickness an injection; and a respectable family must chaperone carefully its growing daughters. So run a host of points which help to bolster but not necessarily to advance social position."

Yet, after the relationship between village and town has been considered, Bang Chan remains very much a peasant community, whose residents are concerned first and foremost with the cultivation of rice, the maintenance of their monastery, and their own immediate social environment. Despite aspirations, many Bang Chan cremations must go without the orchestra; most dwellings lack the tile roof; injections are taken only by those who can afford them; and the necessity for boys and girls to work together during harvest time, a period of unavoidably infectious joy, precludes any rigidly imposed chaperonage. Perhaps the best assessment of the cultural position of Bang Chan was provided by the writer's field assistant—an individual born and reared in a village in the Northeast who, although in many respects worldly and urbane, maintained an almost passionate identification with his peasant background—who said: "When I first came here to Bang Chan, I never thought that people living so close to Bangkok could be *real* Thai villagers. But they are. They are not as friendly and hospitable as Northeastern peasants, and they are more interested in money, but they have a much greater love of the land. No city person could ever think and feel as they do."

Family Life and Social Organization

In terms of the traditional categories of social structural analysis, the social organization of Bang Chan is strikingly simple. There are essentially only five social units which demand, and toward which villagers express, relatively enduring psychological commitments. These are the nuclear family;

home from school, the curriculum for which is written and directed by Ministry of Education officials in the city. Approximately 14 percent of Bang Chan households have battery driven radios (there is no electricity in the village) and approximately 60 percent of the villagers can read, although considerably fewer actually have the proficiency to go comfortably through a newspaper; theoretically the same number of people can write, but few Bang Chan adults have the courage to take pencil to paper without feeling discomfort over their handwriting, spelling, and knowledge of stylistic forms. Newspapers that people bring home from town are passed around and read more for their entertainment than information; the few books that are seen in the village are pulp magazines, religious or moralistic writings, and occasionally do-it-yourself pamphlets ("How to Raise Chickens the Modern Way").

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

* 125 different facets and dimensions of the *same* problem areas, they do serve as useful checks on one another at a more general level of interpretation. The assigning of specific items to Form A or Form B was largely arbitrary.

One of the most important and, as it turned out, intriguing tasks of the SCT construction involved the arrangement of the various items into an interview schedule.[7] I wanted the interview to be an interesting, non-threatening, and not overly difficult experience for informants. Thus, it was necessary to motivate them to "take" the interview, in the sense of

this procedure too has its disadvantages. I tried to implement such a check in Bang Chan, but was unable to carry it out because of suspicion on the part of informants. That is, I selected a dozen items from each form, and approached informants who had responded to the same items when they took the complete form at least two months earlier. Three of the first four informants we spoke to replied: "Didn't you like the answers I gave you the first time?"; "I gave you true answers before. Now I can only lie"; "The answers I gave you the first time were right; do you want me to give you wrong answers now?" Since these informants all but told us that they would aim for qualitatively different responses, the reliability value that such a retest might have seemed minimal. When we tried a different tack and explained to an informant that we had "lost" the responses on these twelve items from his first test, and wanted to be sure we had a complete record of that interview, he guffawed and commented: "But that was three months ago. I cannot remember what I told you then. The answers I give you now will have to be different." This individual did acquiesce to our request for a retest, and in perfect fulfillment of his own prophecy gave responses that were strikingly different from his earlier version.

On the other hand, a genuine error on our part did reveal something of the stability of informant responses over time. During the final weeks of field work I was checking all my protocols and discovered that the protocol of a particularly interesting villager was missing from the SCT file. This was approximately thirteen months after he had first taken the SCT. The informant was especially friendly with us and unlike the individual above, acquiesced to our request for a retest with obvious pleasure. Later, when I was packing my field notes, I discovered his original SCT; it had been mistakenly filed with some other materials. Considering that more than a year had gone by, his responses on the two protocols were amazingly similar. Following, for example, are the "before" and "after" responses to the first three sentence fragments, all "aggression" items:

"He is most annoyed when . . .": his peace of mind is disturbed and when distasteful feelings pass across his mind, *versus,* he wants to concentrate, but some other feelings disturb him and don't let him concentrate.

"When he gets angry, he wants to . . .": let off his anger in a suitable way; maybe it is bad or maybe it isn't bad to let off one's anger, *versus,* do something to let off his anger.

"When he insulted me, I . . .": felt displeased, as it was natural, and wondered why he insulted me, *versus,* I was displeased and annoyed with the person who had insulted me.

• [212] [7] All the SCT's were administered orally, rather than in written form. This was necessary not only because 40 percent of our potential informants were illiterate, but because among the 60 percent who could "write," the very process of writing creates additional psychological obligations: the necessity to write in a beautiful hand; to phrase one's thoughts in an appealing, and even poetic, manner; to be sure that one's spelling is correct and that one does not smudge the paper. Many villagers perceive written messages as having a reality and value of their own, as contrasted with speech, which dissipates itself almost immediately after it is articulated. (See Sjoberg 1960: 285–293 for an excellent discussion of the social psychological significance of writing in peasant societies in general.)

This table shows that in tilapia raising both factors operate independently and cumulatively, i.e. people who are better off economically and who also own or use the motor are almost two and a half times as likely to raise tilapia as their economically depressed counterparts who neither own nor have access to the motor. (45 versus 17 per cent respectively.)

The link between use of the motor and attempt to try fertiliser holds regardless of economic level.

The initial link between ownership or use of the motor and growing of mushrooms, on the other hand, is shown to be a conditional one. Those on a higher economic level are more likely than others to try mushroom growing, whether or not they own or use a motor. Those on the lower economic level, with access to a motor are more likely to take up tilapia culture.

TABLE 9. RELATIONSHIP OF USE OF MOTOR AND OTHER INNOVATIONS TO ECONOMIC LEVEL

	Economic Level			
	High*		Low**	
Owns or used motor (Proportion who have raised tilapia)				
Yes	45%	(89)	33%	(57)
No	25	(21)	17	(40)
Owns or used motor (Proportion who have tried fertiliser)				
Yes	20%	(89)	18%	(57)
No	5	(21)	*	(40)
Owns or used motor (Proportion who have tried mushroom growing)				
Yes	60%	(89)	36%	(57)
No	57	(21)	23	(40)

* Three buffaloes or more
** Two buffaloes or fewer

[231]

Literacy

One important hypothesis to account for differential acceptance of innovations is that the decision to try them out is aided by exposure to the available sources of information. If this were indeed the case, then users of these innovations will be more apt to be able to read and write than be illiterate.

Literacy was determined by asking each respondent whether

125 he could write, could only sign his name, or could do neither.* Those who said they could write a letter are considered here to be
• 212 literate. All others are grouped together as illiterates or on a low level of literacy.

212 The literacy rating was tested for validity as follows: in
872 Bang Chan literacy is known to be related to age. Ever since
125 1935** there has been a school in the community. Since that date school attendance has been compulsory. Attendance has been fairly full for the last twenty years, but most older residents have never had the opportunity for formal schooling.

212 The survey data reflect this correlation between literacy and age. Among farmers under 40 years of age, only 16 per cent were
*177 rated as illiterate or barely literate by the survey criterion;
*178 while 59 per cent of those of 40 years or older are rated as illiterate. Thus one can have reasonable confidence in the survey
561 response as a rating of literacy.

TABLE 10. LITERACY OF FARMERS DECREASES WITH AGE

	Age	
	Under 40 yrs.	40 yrs. or more
Literacy		
Illiterate	16%	59%
Literate	84	41
Total cases	(79)	(131)

*177 Literacy is linked discernibly to acceptance of the motor and mushroom growing. The proportion of literate farmers who have
*178 tried the motor is twice as high as the corresponding proportion among those who are illiterate. It is less strongly linked to the
228 decision to grow mushrooms, and is, at best, weakly linked to the
241 decision to raise tilapia or to use fertilizer.
244

212 * In addition, interviewers asked respondents who said they could write to demonstrate it by writing something on the ques-
402 tionnaire.

[125] ** See Siamese Rice Village, op. cit.

TABLE 11. LITERATE FARMERS* ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE USED THE MOTOR AND TO HAVE TRIED MUSHROOM GROWING

	Illiterate (Cannot write a letter) (92)	Literate (Can write a letter) (118)
Motor		
Own	16%	26%
Use	35	60
Neither	48	14
Mushrooms		
Have tried	38%	53%
Have not	62	47
Fertilizer		
Have used	12%	17%
Have not	88	83
Tilapia		
Have tried	29%	39%
Have not	71	61

* Male farmers only

If Bang Chan were like certain areas of the United States and Europe, it might be objected that such a relationship between acceptance of innovations and literacy reflects a spurious link with economic level: that illiterates tend to come from the economically deprived strata of the population; hence an observed relationship with literacy may actually reflect the initial correlation with economic level. In Bang Chan, however, this is not the case. A Bang Chan farmer who is well-to-do is as likely to be illiterate as literate, as is illustrated by the table below.

TABLE 12. LITERACY AND ECONOMIC LEVELS ARE UNRELATED IN BANG CHAN*

	Literacy	
	Low (91)	High (119)
Economic Level		
Low	48%	56%
High	52	44

* Male farmers only

Hence the correlation between use of innovations and literacy may be taken at face value and does not reflect a spurious link with economic level.

TABLE 14. HIGH EXPOSURE TO COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA IS LINKED TO ACCEPTANCE OF THE MOTOR

	Exposure to Radio			
	High			Low
	Listens Daily (45)	Listens Occasionally (66)	Listens Seldom (148)	Never Listens (80)
Small Engine Motor				
Used it	88%	78%	64%	46%
Didn't use it	12	22	36	54

	Exposure to Movies			
	High			Low
	Ten times or more (161)	4-9 times (60)	1-3 times (75)	None (33)
Used it	76%	69%	59%	36%
Didn't use it	24	31	31	64

Of course it is important to check whether these relationships hold true when people on different economic levels are examined separately; for literates as well as for illiterates. We infer that the basic link between use of the motor and exposure to the media of communication holds for literate as well as illiterates; for poorer as well as for richer farmers. More specifically, the relationship between exposure to the communications media and decision to use the motor is even more marked for less well-to-do and for the illiterate farmers, in contrast to the better-off farmers and those who can read and write.

TABLE 15. EXPOSURE TO MOTION PICTURES IS LINKED TO ACCEPTANCE OF MOTOR ESPECIALLY FOR THE ILLITERATES AND FOR THE ECONOMICALLY LESS WELL-OFF*

	Exposure to Motion Pictures			
	High		Low	
	(Percentage Using Motor)			
Economic Level				
Low	76%	(47)	46%	(32)
High	85	(66)	75	(45)
Literacy				
Illiterate	63%	(36)	44%	(55)
Literate	80	(77)	82	(41)

* Male Farmers Only

*177 22
*178
207 Exposure to the media of mass communication seems to act, in
a sense, as a substitute for literacy. It may be that through
• 212 these means either an illiterate farmer can obtain information
about the more complex agricultural tools and methods or motivation
546 to try improvements, or both, even though he may not know how to
read and write. One may infer that he tends to act on the infor-
mation thus obtained, since he is more likely than his unexposed
opposite number to try out these innovations.
*178
*177 Acceptance of Urban Patterns
369 The printed word and the mass media are, of course, not solely
channels for the communication of knowledge. They are, at the
same time a means whereby the farmers may establish some sort of
contact with the more sophisticated world outside the community
even with highly urban Bangkok.

The survey indicates in a general way the extent to which
[291] the people of Bang Chan have accepted urban patterns. Their grow-
[416] ing acceptance of urban modes is readily apparent even to a casual
[207] visitor: many own shoes, flashlights, wrist watches, radios,
bicycles, fountain pens, modern furniture.* Other urban behavior
is likewise beginning to be noticeable.
[493]
[413] One very simple indication of the degree to which urban in-
[352] fluences have penetrated is the change in manners of taking
food. The farmers traditionally eat with their hands rather than
using a fork or spoon. In Bangkok, however, eating utensils are
customarily served with the meals in restaurants and are widely
*177 adopted as well by the city population. Some Bang Chan inhabi-
*178 tants have picked up this simple urban custom and have substituted
it for eating mainly with their hands. In Bang Chan of 1955, for
example, a sizeable minority (26 per cent) report that they use a
264 spoon, fork or both for the evening meal.
369 That such a simple question can roughly measure exposure
[207] to urban influences, is indicated in the following table, which
[546] shows that respondents who report customarily eating with "urban
utensils" are more likely to be exposed frequently to radio and
motion pictures and are more likely to have visited in Bangkok.

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[412] * Survey respondents report that their households possess a
flashlight (81 per cent); scissors (66 per cent); kerosene lamp
(27 per cent); radio (14 per cent). About 41 per cent say they
own at least one pair of shoes.

178*
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TABLE 16. INHABITANTS WHO HAVE ADOPTED URBAN EATING PATTERNS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO BE EXPOSED TO MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND URBAN CONTACTS

	Eating Pattern	
	With hands (241)	With fork and/or spoon (84)
Listens to radio		
Regularly (daily)	10%	25%
Occasionally	17	28
Seldom	31	35
Never	22	10
Has seen a movie		
Ten times or more	40%	72%
4 - 9 times	19	17
1 - 3 times	28	10
Never	13	1
This past year, how many times did you go to Bangkok?		
None	26%	7%
Once	18	15
2 - 4 times	29	23
5 or more times	28	55

178*
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[241]
[244]
[402]
[228]

When acceptance of urban influences is measured even on the basis of this index, the evidence is clear that it is linked with acceptance of the agricultural innovations. Those responsive to urban influence are twice as likely as others to use fertiliser (21 per cent versus 9 per cent), one and a half times as likely to grow mushrooms (57 per cent versus 39 per cent), and one and a quarter times as likely to use a motor than the others (82 per cent versus 61 per cent). There is no noticeable relationship, however, between tilapia raising and responsiveness to urban influences. The respective proportions are shown in Table 17.

These relationships between acceptance of urban patterns and decision to use certain innovations remain constant for those on high as well as low economic levels and also for the literate as well as illiterate farmers.

[212]
[434]

*178
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TABLE 17. VILLAGERS RESPONSIVE TO URBAN PATTERNS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE AGRICULTURAL INNOVATIONS

Agricultural Innovations	Eat with fork and/or spoon	Eat with hands
Artificial fertiliser		
Tried it	21%	9%
Never did	79	91
Total cases*	(69)	(218)
Mushrooms		
Tried growing	57%	39%
Never did	43	61
Total cases	(84)	(242)
Small engine motor		
Own one or have used it	82%	61%
Never did	18	39
Total cases	(84)	(242)

* For farmers only; excludes all non-farmers

*178
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• 212
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264
556

TABLE 18. ACCEPTANCE OF URBAN PATTERNS IS LINKED TO ACCEPTANCE OF MOTOR AND MUSHROOM GROWING, IRRESPECTIVE OF ECONOMIC AND LITERACY LEVELS

	Economic Level				Literacy Level			
	Low		High		Illiterate		Literate	
Acceptance of urban patterns	(Proportion who used motor)							
Eat with hands	55%	(77)	76%	(73)	47%	(73)	83%	(76)
Fork or spoon	75	(20)	89	(34)	69%	(16)	90	(38)
	(Proportion who tried mushroom growing)							
Eat with hands	28%	(77)	58%	(73)	38%	(73)	47%	(76)
Fork or spoon	45	(20)	65	(34)	44	(16)	66	(40)
	(Proportion who used fertiliser)							
Eat with hands	11%	(77)	13%	(73)	10%	(73)	14%	(76)
Fork or spoon	19	(20)	26	(34)	3	(16)	23	(40)

Contacts Outside the Community

Radio and movies provide indirect contact between the community and the outside world and seem to encourage the acceptance of urban behavior patterns. (See Table 16.) In addition, however, there is direct contact between the community and the capital city. The inhabitants commute to Bangkok to sell their products or to visit. Some go to the city to live for a time, to attend the city's schools, to work as laborers or to serve in the military or police force. For example, about a quarter of the sample (26 per cent) reported that during the year preceding the survey they had been to Bangkok ten or more times. About a third of the sample (35 per cent) have lived in Bangkok, mostly for the purpose of working there. On the other hand, almost half the sample (45 per cent) have never been to the Don Muang Airport; and over two-thirds (69 per cent) have never been to the Annual Agricultural Fair.

One would expect that such direct exposure to the urban life and values of the capital city, for example, might be linked with greater readiness to try out improved methods of agriculture either because exposure to urban life may mean exposure to more information, or, less directly, may mean exposure to the urban values of economic self-advancement and experimentation. And there is, indeed, a relationship between exposure to the capital city and use of the motor. The two factors are not linked for all the residents--the relationship is a conditional one. That is, it is mainly among illiterate farmers where urban contact is associated with readier acceptance of the motor.

TABLE 19. ILLITERATE FARMERS* WHO HAVE GREATER CONTACT WITH THE CITY ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE THE MOTOR

"This past year, how many times did you go to Bangkok...?"

Literacy	Never or once (Proportion who own or use the motor)		Twice or more (Proportion who own or use the motor)	
Illiterate	44%	(40)	58%	(31)
Literate	83	(36)	88	(83)

* Male farmers only

In the same way, there is a similar conditional link between use of the motor and wider contacts beyond the horizons of Bang Chan. Visits to the airport and to the agricultural fair, for example, (both centers of contact with urban culture) are associated with use of the motor among illiterate farmers. If the farmer can read and write, on the other hand, he is just

as apt to adopt the motor irrespective of whether he has been in contact with urban culture.

TABLE 20. ILLITERATE FARMERS* WITH WIDER CULTURE CONTACTS ARE MORE LIKELY THAN OTHERS TO USE THE MOTOR

	Illiterate (Proportion using the motor)		Literate (Proportion using the motor)	
Trips to the airport				
None	38%	(40)	86%	(35)
One or more	63	(49)	86	(83)
Visits to the agricultural fair				
None	50%	(67)	85%	(76)
One or more	57	(24)	88	(43)

*Male farmers only

However, no such relationship was discerned between these culture contacts and trying out either fertilizer, tilapia, or mushrooms.

Here again, is evidence to support the hypothesis that contacts with urban culture may act as a substitute for literacy in making the farmer more sophisticated about improving his standard of living and level of production. But the data show that such exposure need not result from direct physical contact with urban centers; it can, instead, be a result of indirect contact. Direct physical contact with urban culture, it turns out, is effective in increasing the incidence of acceptance of the more complex innovations only for the illiterate farmers of Bang Chan.

Friendships

The same reasoning which would lead one to expect a higher incidence of acceptance of innovations among those directly exposed to urban contacts would lead to the companion hypothesis: that inhabitants who have a greater degree of internal contacts with their friends and neighbors might tend to try out innovations to a greater extent than those who remain relatively aloof from such social contacts.

The data show that such contacts have a limited connection with acceptance of innovations. The incidence of motor use and tilapia raising is higher, it is true, among persons who report a wider sphere of social circulation; but there is little relation between social contacts and willingness to try out fertilizer or mushrooms.

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[125]

TABLE 21. INCIDENCE OF MOTOR USE IS HIGHER AMONG VILLAGERS WHO REPORT WIDER SOCIAL CONTACTS

	Social Contacts ("...Do you have more close friends than most people around here, or about the same as most people around here, or fewer close friends than most people around here?")	
	"More" or "the same" (143)	"Fewer" (55)
Motor		
Has used it	77%	55%
Never did	23	45
Tilapia		
Has tried it	39%	21%
Never did	61	79
Fertilizer		
Has used it	16%	11%
Never did	84	89
Mushrooms		
Has tried them	49%	40%
Never did	51	60

Once again, however, when this link between breadth of social contacts and use of the innovations is examined separately for the literate, compared with the illiterate farmers, we find further substantiation of the previous finding that under certain circumstances contact may act as a substitute for literacy in acceptance of complex innovations. For, although the link between social contacts and use of tilapia remains constant for literate as well as illiterate farmers, it is mainly for those who are illiterate that exposure to wider local social contacts is associated with greater incidence of motor use.

[212]

6: Goldsen and Ralis Z-4.5 (1955) 1957
AO7 Central Thai AO7

*178
• 212
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402
228

TABLE 22. AMONG ILLITERATE FARMERS USE OF MOTOR IS LINKED TO WIDER SOCIAL CONTACTS

	Exposure to Influence of Others	
	Have more friends or about the same	Have fewer friends
	(Proportion who tried small motor)	
Literacy		
Illiterate	64% (56)	26% (27)
Literate	87 (86)	86 (78)
	(Proportion who tried tilapia)	
Illiterate	34% (56)	15% (28)
Literate	43% (86)	26 (27)

[369] This finding corroborates and expands the previous discussion of the culture contact and acceptance of innovations. Exposure to influence of others from outside the community (through contact with the city, with the airport, with the agricultural fair, for example), as well as exposure to the influence of others from within (through friends and associates) clearly relates to the decision to use an innovation such as the motor. Its effectiveness is not felt equally by the whole population, mainly instead, by those who are illiterate.

The significance of these internal and external contacts to illiterates may be that through such contacts they are likely to gain needed information and motivation which, if one can read and write, is available through other sources. If one cannot read and write, however, it is the outside world which provides this kind of needed information.

Capital Investment and Debt

426 Bang Chan's economy is largely a money economy and many farmers avail themselves of credit facilities through professional money lenders. Most loans are sought for the purpose of replacing capital equipment and purchasing land and buffalo.*

The present survey secures a rough measure of the extent of such borrowing in Bang Chan. The majority of farmers (39 per cent)

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[113] * See Janlekha, Kamol O. A Preliminary Study of the Economic Conditions of Siamese Rice Farmers in Bang Chan, Thailand. M.S. Thesis Cornell University, 1951, p. 73.

*178
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561

TABLE 26. INCIDENCE OF HOSPITAL AND CLINIC VISITS IS SIMILAR FOR ALL AGE GROUPS

Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital?	20-29 (41)	30-39 (80)	40-49 (85)	50-59 (60)	60 or over (57)
No, never	31%	31%	36%	37%	41%
Yes, for treatment	39	44	39	31	31
Yes, for other reasons	29	25	25	32	28

*178
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If the responses reflect primarily the need for medical care, women who bear children have a greater need for medical care than men, and one would therefore expect hospital use to be higher among women than men. But again, this hunch is not clearly borne out by the results.

TABLE 27. INCIDENCE OF HOSPITAL AND CLINIC USE IS SIMILAR FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital?	Women (90)	Men (245)
No, never	41%	35%
Yes, for treatment	31	39
Yes, for other reasons	28	26

There is, then, reasonable justification for inferring that reported use of clinics or hospitals reflects predisposition to use modern health facilities and not simply a need for medical care.

*178

Economic Level

241
434
743

Although higher economic level was linked to the principal agricultural innovations, it is not related to use of hospital or clinic facilities.

Literacy

*178
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On the other hand, just as literate persons were more disposed to use the major innovations (p. 19), in the same way those who can read and write report a greater incidence of hospital or clinic use.

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TABLE 28. INCIDENCE OF HOSPITAL AND CLINIC USE IS HIGHER AMONG LITERATE VILLAGERS

Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital?	Literate (163)	Illiterate (169)
No, never	27%	44%
Yes, for treatment	42	33
Yes, for other reasons	31	23

Apparently here, too, exposure to sources of information predisposes the inhabitants to greater acceptance of modern health practices.

Exposure to Mass Media

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Again, as with agricultural innovations, exposure to the media of mass communication is linked to acceptance of modern health practices.

TABLE 29. INCIDENCE OF HOSPITAL AND CLINIC USE IS HIGHER AMONG VILLAGERS EXPOSED TO MASS MEDIA

	Movie Attendance		
Have you ever been to a clinic or hospital?	Ten or more times (161)	4-9 times (60)	Three times or less (108)
No, never	25%	32%	55%
Yes, for treatment	48	33	22
Yes, for other reasons	27	35	23

	Radio Listening		
	Daily or occasionally (111)	Seldom (148)	Never (60)
No, never	20%	39%	58%
Yes, for treatment	52	33	18
Yes, for other reasons	28	28	23

Mass Media as a Substitute for Literacy

It will be recalled (see p. 21) that the mass media seem to act as a substitute for literacy. The same relationship reappears here. The table following indicates that literacy links with use of hospitals or clinics only when exposure to mass media is rare. [212]

*178 With more frequent exposure to these media, the link between literacy and use of hospitals or clinics decreases.
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TABLE 30. EXPOSURE TO MASS MEDIA IS LINKED TO HOSPITAL USE, ESPECIALLY AMONG ILLITERATES

	Literate		Illiterate	
	(Proportion reporting use of hospital or clinic)			
Movie Attendance				
High (ten or more times)	78%	(103)	71%	(56)
Low (nine times or less)	64	(36)	48	(111)
Radio Listening				
High (listen "frequently")	81%	(68)	79%	(42)
Low (listen "seldom or never")	66	(88)	48	(122)

*178 Acceptance of Urban Practices
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Table 17 showed that acceptance of certain urban practices was linked to acceptance of the major agricultural innovations. Acceptance of urban practices is also associated with use of clinics and hospitals. Use of modern medicine is significantly higher among those who no longer eat with their hands than among those who do.

TABLE 31. ACCEPTANCE OF URBAN PRACTICES IS LINKED TO USE OF CLINIC AND HOSPITAL FACILITIES

	Customarily Eat With	
	Fork or spoon	Hands
Have you ever been to a clinic or a hospital?	(84)	(342)
No, never	28%	39%
Yes, for treatment	48	33
Yes, for other reasons	26	28

*178 Contact Outside Bang Chan
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It has already been reported (see Table 25) that hospital and clinic use is higher for those who, during the past year, have paid more frequent visits to Bangkok. This correlation may seem, at first, spurious, since the main centers of medical care are situated in Bangkok. But the questions asked about contact with Bangkok for the one-year period preceding the survey, and visits to the hospital or clinic over an unspecified time period shows

The motor users formed a group with higher economic level, greater literacy, higher acceptance of urban ways of life, more frequent exposure to mass media, broader social contacts within the community, and greater use of credit facilities. Illiterate farmers might also be motor users, if their contacts with urban centers were extensive.

5. Acceptance of mushroom culture was a special case of agricultural innovation: a) as distinct from all other attitudes toward innovation, mushroom growers were not marked by their high positive attitudes toward mushroom culture; b) the investment in mushroom raising per se was less than the investment and risk required by other types of agricultural innovation.

6. The mushroom growers as a group distinct from non-mushroom growers were more literate and accepting of urban ways. Tilapia raisers were of a higher economic level and had greater community contacts than non-tilapia raisers.

7. An hypothesis was offered: that innovations differ in complexity and investment of effort required. The more complex presuppose greater investment, work, risk and postponement of returns; hence this complex kind requires greater motivation than the simpler ones such as mushroom raising.

8. Use of hospital and clinic facilities was more frequent among the literate, those exposed to mass media, those accepting of urban ways and those having greater contacts with the city. Unlike acceptors of agricultural innovations, users of modern medical facilities were not of a higher economic level than non-users and could not be clearly distinguished on the basis of breadth of contact within the community or use of credit facilities.

197*
198*
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b. IF YES: What various things do you do with the polishings? 125
1. Ik as still not used 3
2. Used for feed 99 [243]
3. Used for food —
4. They are sold 3
5. Other, specify _____ 3
6. Unascertainable 2

c. ASK ALL: During this past year, did your family eat home-milled rice entirely, in major part, in minor part, or not at all? [262]
7. Entirely 5
8. For major part 51
9. For minor part 78
X. Not at all 199

30.a. As you know, some people have had plenty of chance to learn to read, while others have hardly had any chance. How about you yourself? Are you able to read the Thai language, or haven't you ever had the opportunity to do any reading? [212]
1. Yes, can read 224
2. No 109

b. IF R CAN READ: Would you say it is hard for you to read, or easy, or about medium?
3. Hard 15
4. Easy 85
5. Medium 124
6. Unascertainable —

c. ASK ALL: Now how about writing? How is it with you yourself? Are you able to write Thai, or haven't you ever had the opportunity to do any writing?
7. Yes, can write 227
8. No 106

d. IF R CAN WRITE: How much writing do you do? Are you able to sign your name, or can you also write a letter?
9. Sign name only 63
X. Can write letter 163
C. Unascertainable 1

31.a. Suppose there were a factory in Mixburi paying 20 tical per day. Would you apply for a job to work in this factory? [464]
7. Yes 162
8. No 159
9. Unascertainable 12

b. Do you think that someone else from your house would apply for a job there?
X. Yes 105
Y. No 211
C. Unascertainable 17